1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

practice of ritual, the distribution that this fosters is constant and equitable.

It is gift-giving that largely takes the place of trade, though the difference is mostly one of phrasing. There is the feeling that exchanges should depend upon an implicit reciprocity to be worked out in individual relations rather than in terms of declared measures of value. One speaks of "giving" instead of "selling." But it is understood that generosity begets generosity and that a man loses nothing by kindness to his neighbors. Thus a father caps advice to his son with this admonition: "Do not be stingy and mean. Treat people right. Give half of what you have. Then you will be invited to feasts and get presents."

The openhanded individual builds up a fund of friends who will serve him in good stead whenever he needs assistance, material or moral. One informant told how a member of a certain family gave gifts to his wife. "Now they are our friends" was his comment. The implication is that some gesture on his part will be forthcoming later, for this is an almost inevitable consequence of friendship initiated in this way.

Reputation and social standing are significantly related to generosity, and, even if the individual gains no more than added prestige, he does not regret his philanthropy:

> Gifts are given because we are sympathetic to one another. If someone needs food, we help him in a material way, for we feel that we are one people. We feel that way to a man who is poor. Giving is a great thing to the Chiricahua. A man can make a great reputation by giving.

Acceptance of a gift is felt by the receiver as a claim upon him to be adjusted in his own time and way:

> You are ashamed to borrow a horse, a bow, or other things, for that shows that you are not a real man and have not been on the raid and obtained things for yourself. To start out, the young man would be given the necessities. Giving is a great thing with us. I don't think there was much selling in the old days, but there was always lots of giving.
>
> Even now there is not much selling. I could walk up to any man and ask for a horse. Even though I don't know him well I have a good chance of getting it. I've been offered horses. C. offered me a horse, but I never took it. I didn't take it because I did not want to feel under obligation to him. He just offered it to show his friendship. This was done in the old days a great deal.